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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ANTHROPOMORPHISM AND THE ORIENTALIZING STYLE IN CAERE AND
CHIUSI

BY



LISA A. HLECK

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of M.A.

IN

CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING 1993



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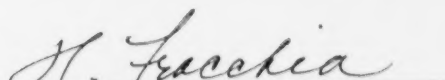
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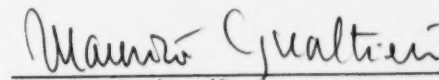
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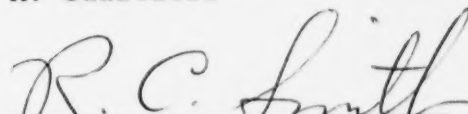
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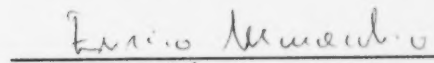
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Anthropomorphism and the Orientalizing Style in Caere and Chiusi submitted by Lisa A. Hleck in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of M.A. in Classical Archaeology.


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DEDICATION

To mom and dad, thank-you for your love, support, and encouragement.

Aaron, thank-you for believing in me from the very start.

ABSTRACT

Evidence reveals that execution and chronology pertaining to the "Orientalizing" style vary not only from region to region in Etruria, but more importantly from city to city. Differences in the "Orientalizing" style are also dependent upon each city's ability to assimilate to both foreign and local contact and upon its propinquity to natural resources. Caere's Castellani Statuettes and Chiusi's Canopic Urns exemplify these differences in the Orientalizing style.

The following analysis will be given in order to provide evidence which will show impetus for and distinguish between the anthropomorphic Orientalizing styles of Caere and Chiusi.

- I. Background information regarding the development of Caere in southern Etruria through:
 - A. Topography
 - B. Economic, political and social status up until the 7th century B.C.
 - C. Foreign Contact
- II. Background information regarding the development of Chiusi in central Etruria through:
 - A. Topography
 - B. Economic, political and social status up until the 7th century B.C.
 - C. Trade contacts
- III. A general overview of the Caeretan Orientalizing style as seen in the Castellani Statuettes
- IV. A general overview of the Chiusian Canopic urns dating between the late 7th and 6th centuries B.C.
- V. Conclusion. This will define the Orientalizing characteristics of anthropomorphism as it pertains to the city of Caere and Chiusi

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INTRODUCTION

Natural boundaries formed by the Tiber and Arno rivers and the Tyrrhenian sea serve to divide Etruria geographically into three regions¹: southern Etruria, the Maremma, and central Etruria. [see map 2] Southern Etruria², known for its volcanic terrain, e.g., mountains and tufa outcrops, extends along a major portion of the Tiber river to Orvieto and aligns itself along the sea as far as the Tolfa and Ceriti mountains. Southern Etruria's major cities include: Veii, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci and Volsinii. The Maremma³, an area noted for its mineral wealth, is comprised of alluvial plains and tufa outcrops. This region is situated along the Tyrrhenian coast extending from Pyrgi to Populonia. The major cities of the Maremma are Populonia, Vetulonia and Roselle. Central Etruria⁴, with its rolling hills lakes and prime agricultural land, branches out from the north of Orvieto and inland from the Maremma. Perugia, Cortona, Arezzo, Fiesole, Volterra, and Chiusi constitute the major cities of central Etruria. Each region in Etruria has some topographical similarities which makes its urban placement, trade connections, products, and development unique as a whole. Each city within a specific region, however, cannot be

¹ A detailed account of Etruria's geographical boundaries and the regions and cities found within are found in: Mario Torelli, Storia degli Etruschi (Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza, 1981.), 11-16.

² Ibid., 15-16.

³ Ibid., 16.

⁴ Ibid., 15-16.

categorized with such uniformity: each city possesses characteristics in its layout and its artistic production which sets it apart from other cities in the same region.

In the past, scholars have notoriously fused stylistic aspects of artistic production pertaining to certain periods into one category for all Etruria. For example, the term "Orientalizing" has been used to coin the styles and motifs, e.g., rosettes, guilloche, palmettes, lions, griffins, sphinxes, etc., characteristic for all Etruria between the 8th and 6th centuries B.C. Analysis cannot be accomplished in this manner. Extensive investigation reveals that execution and chronology pertaining to the "Orientalizing" style vary not only from region to region in Etruria, but more importantly from city to city. Differences in the "Orientalizing" style are also dependent upon each city's ability to assimilate to both foreign and local contact and upon its propinquity to natural resources. Examples of such differences in the Orientalizing style are evident in the artforms of central Etruria's Chiusi⁵ and of southern Etruria's Caere⁶.

This thesis will concentrate on the differences and

⁵ Chiusi (modern) is also identified as Camars (Etruscan) and Clusium (Latin): Massimo Pallotino, The Etruscans (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1955), 92, 118.

⁶ Cerveteri (modern), Caere (Latin), Agylla (Greek), Cisra, Ceisra (Etruscan): Sybille Haynes, Etruscan Bronzes (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1985), 66; Biagio Pace et al., "Caere, Scavi di Raniero Mengarelli," Monumenti Antichi Vol. XLII (1955), 1.

similarities of two anthropomorphic artistic products of two particular cities in Etruria: the Canopic urns of Chiusi and the Castellani statuettes from Caere. The term "Canopic" can refer to the Egyptian zoomorphic and anthropomorphic urns which contained the internal organs of the mummified dead. The term can also be applied to Chiusian urns dating from the late 7th to the 5th centuries B.C. The Chiusian Canopic urn, bearing a lid modelled in the form of a human head, housed the ashes of the dead. The style of the human head is of special interest, e.g., the pulled back hair, the roundness of the face juxtaposed with the pointedness of the nose, ears, eyes and mouth. This particular portrayal of the head is reminiscent of certain mediums already prevalent in Caere: the Castellani statuettes from the Tomba delle Cinque Sedie in Caere, ca. 650 B.C., a group of five seated terracotta figures sculpted in the round.

The main objective therefore is to provide evidence which will show impetus for and distinguish between the anthropomorphic Orientalizing styles of Caere and Chiusi. The analysis will be broken down in the following manner.

- I. Background information regarding the development of Caere in southern Etruria through:
 - A. Topography
 - B. Economic, political and social status up until the 7th century B.C.
 - C. Foreign contact
- II. Background information regarding the development of Chiusi in central Etruria through:
 - A. Topography
 - B. Economic, political and social status up until the 7th century B.C.

C. Trade contacts

- III. A general overview of the Caeretan Orientalizing style as seen in the Castellani Statuettes.
- IV. A general overview of the Chiusian Canopic urns dating between the late 7th and 6th centuries B.C.
- V. Conclusion. This will define the Orientalizing characteristics of anthropomorphism as it pertains to the city of Chiusi.

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION REGARDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAERE IN SOUTHERN ETRURIA

A. TOPOGRAPHY

Topography plays a decisive role "in explaining the shape of settlements in Italy, especially the regionalism that has been so conspicuous a feature of the country's history."⁷ The topography of southern Etruria is rich in the kind of geographical diversity which reinforces the concept of geographic regionalism in Etruria. The region enjoys a Mediterranean climate, that is one which experiences a "wet autumn, cold winter, a damp spring and a very dry, intensely hot summer."⁸ Comprised of rich reddish-brown volcanic soils suitable for agriculture, southern Etruria [see map 1] extends from the Tiber River in the south and reaches as far north as Orvieto to Vulci. To the west, the region is bounded by the Tyrrhenian Sea which provides contact from other sources (viz., Greek and Phoenician) with the coastal cities of southern Etruria.

One important coastal city in southern Etruria was Caere (modern Cerveteri). It had many natural boundaries [see map 2 under Cerveteri]: a long portion of the territory's western side was made up of the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea; to the north-west, the region extended from the Mignone River, which separated it from Tarquinia; to the north, Caere's boundaries

⁷ T. W. Potter, The Changing Landscape of South Etruria (London: Paul Ekel Ltd., 1979), 20.

⁸ Ibid., 22.

were limited by the rich ore-producing (eg. silver, copper, lead, iron and copper) region of the Tolfa Mountains⁹; to the east, by the region of Veii, including most of Lake Bracciano; and to the south, the boundary was completed by the Arrone River. The ancient city of Caere (located approximately 6 kilometres away from the sea) possessed an ideal natural defense as it was situated on approximately 150 hectares of the central promontory of tufa which was compressed between two other hills created by the fluvial erosion of the Mangello and Mola rivers. [see map 3]

This brief topographical analysis demonstrates that Caere is a prime location to develop economically, politically and socially. Caere would have the potential to flourish, as its proximity to the Tyrrhenian sea and to the mineral resources of the Tolfa mountains would entice contact from other sources, i.e., local and/or foreign.

B. ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STATUS FROM THE VILLANOVAN ERA TO THE 7TH CENTURY BC.

In order to come to an understanding of the development of Caere, one must first trace the evolution of the economic, political and social situation from the Villanovan era, from ca. the 10th-8th centuries B.C. prior to the economic boom of the 7th century B.C.

The initial phase of the Villanovan era (ie. the period

⁹ See Luigi Pareti, Chapter II: "Le Miniere della Tolfa ed i loro Centri di Esportazione," in La Tomba Regolini-Galassi (Citta del Vaticano: Topografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1947).

prior to the 9th century BC) is marked by various self-sufficient proto-urban communities dependent upon their local natural resources. For instance the area is characterized by,

...villaggi sulla riva del mare o dei laghi a prevalente sfruttamento delle risorse ittiche, villaggi di fondo-valle connessi con la facilità di irrigazione e di comunicazioni, ampi altopiani, atti alle colture agricole ed all'allevamento stanziale, tutti connessi fra loro con strade di breve comunicazione e a loro volta in contatto con grandi vie di infrastruttura territoriale.¹⁰

The Villanovan cemeteries, e.g., Sorbo and Cava della Pozzolana in Caere, situated upon a tufa plateau,¹¹ provide demographic evidence for the positioning of various settlements: "while groups of several hundred families lived in the same area, they occupied separate villages of huts on the edges of the plateau and used the substantial areas left free between their villages for tilling the land and raising animals."¹² Improving the production of grains and methods in stock breeding as well as the development of metallurgy were important factors contributing to the early Villanovan culture. Torelli states:

¹⁰ M. Torelli, "Tre studi di storia etrusca," Dialoghi di Archeologia, 8 (1974-75), 8.

¹¹ Characteristically Villanovan sites are marked by the presence of one or more cemeteries. Nigel Spivey and Simon Stoddart, Etruscan Italy (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1990), 143.

¹² M. Cristofani, The Etruscans: a new investigation (New York: Galahad Books, 1979), 13.

...i fattori primi di sviluppo sembrano consistere in un miglioramento delle culture granarie ed in un più razionale sviluppo dell'allevamento: la metallurgia, elaborata su modelli centroeuropei, svolge un limitato ruolo economico, come provano a un tempo la relativa scarsità di metallo lavorato e le uniformità tecnologiche e formali dei prodotti su di un'area estremamente vasta.¹³

Finally, the initial phase "is characterized by a fairly egalitarian social structure, in which the division of labour takes place mostly, if not wholly, according to sex."¹⁴

The second phase of the Villanovan era (ca. 8th century B.C.) marks an increase in wealth among certain groups. This diversification in the social organization is reflected both "nell'articolazione del sistema funerario; [con] i diversi modi di trattamento del cadavere, [e] la varietà del rituale",¹⁵ and in "the material culture of the cemeteries".¹⁶ Furthermore, "This division of Etruscan society into different groups or classes also brought with it a new division of labour, beginning with agriculture, but gradually extending to the crafts."¹⁷ Therefore, what is

¹³ Torelli, DA, 23-24.

¹⁴ Mario Torelli, "History: Land and People" in Etruscan Life and Afterlife, Larissa Bonfante, ed. (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1986), 51.

¹⁵ B. D'Agostino, DA., 49.

¹⁶ Spivey and Stoddart, 143.

¹⁷ Ibid., 52.

evident with the appearance of class hierarchy is the initial stages of urban development.

By the end of the seventh century B.C., a more distinct evolutionary pattern is apparent in southern Etruria's social system. By this time, the Etruscans not only had become more developed agriculturally (i.e., with the introduction of the fallow system and the implementation of the vine and olive),¹⁸ but also industrially with the production of metal goods. Torelli reinforces this idea by stating:

Da un punto di vista economico la crescita è costante (anche se alcune città declinano e lasciano il posto ad altre come stelle di prima grandezza), la distinzione tra città e campagna si precisa, si diffondono la attività artigianali e si sviluppa l'industria metallurgica con il netto affermarsi dell'industria del ferro, mentre il volume delle importazioni di prodotti orientali in metallo prezioso o altro comincia ad accrescersi.¹⁹

In terms of the cemeteries, the end of the seventh century reveals a more even distribution of wealth. Cristofani believes that "although the aristocratic system persists, a substantial class of craftsmen and merchants, including foreigners is coming into being."²⁰

The ancient city of Caere will be now cited as a specific example in order to illustrate a few of the preceding points.

¹⁸ See Cristofani, 52.

¹⁹ Torelli, DA., 53.

²⁰ Cristofani, 31.

From the Iron Age cemeteries, Cava della Pozzolana and Sorbo, [see map 3] it can be inferred that the Villanovan settlement of Caere was an extensive site as the city's territory encompassed the marginal area of the plain north-east and south-west in concordance with the Sorbo and Cava della Pozzolana cemeteries.²¹ [see map 3]

To the north of the city lies the Iron Age cemetery of Cava della Pozzolana. It shares close similarities with the Sorbo cemetery in that "il terreno in cui è scavato per la forma disposizione delle fosse e dei pozzetti."²² Although the Sorbo was used at a later period than Cava della Pozzolana, nevertheless, "entrambi sepolcreti si vennero... sviluppando similmente e contemporaneamente, dopo l'epoca dei primitivi ossuari villanovi, e senza alcuna soluzione di continuità fino al tempo dei bucheri fini e dei vasi corinzi."²³ The Sorbo cemetery lies at the foot of the south-west plain of the ancient city of Caere and is comprised of approximately 451 burials: 220 of which were fossa burials, i.e., inhumation; and 231 of which were pozzi burials, i.e., cremation. The grave goods consisted primarily

²¹ Mauro Cristofani, "Nuovi dati per la storia urbana di Caere," Bolletino D'Arte No.s 85-86 (1986), 6.

²² R. Mengarelli, "Caere e le recenti scoperte (tavv. XI-LIII)," Studi Etruschi, I (1927), 153.

²³ Ibid.

of impasto pottery with geometric motifs and fibula.²⁴ From the evidence in the Sorbo cemetery there is a sense of homogeneity in the grave goods in terms of style and composition. For instance, the ossuaries generally were made from a hand-made impasto which was coarse, grey/black near the core, with a brown/black surface, somewhat burnished and partly covered with lime. The forms of the pots were also similar to one another: the repertoire consists primarily of biconical urns and conically depressed bowls. The continuous meander motifs around the neck, the winged angular motifs, and the use of rectangular fields on the body, form a consistent repertoire of decorative motifs.²⁵ The fibula, too, offer a homogeneous body of evidence as the most common types found are: a) fibula possessing a slightly swollen bow with a semi-circular catch-holder; b) fibula with a mounting of amber and bone and a semi-circular catch-holder.²⁶ Pohl suggests, from the assembled data, that "it seems as that all the pottery and also what little bronze there is , was produced at [Caere] itself. The style and the ware is too similar and homogeneous throughout to suggest any systematic infiltration either of

²⁴ For a complete description of the finds see Ingrid Pohl, Iron Age Necropolis of Sorbo at Cerveteri (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Rom, 1972).

²⁵ See Pohl, 302-306.

²⁶ For the frequency and distribution of the fibula, see Pohl, 280-292.

the objects or their makers."²⁷ From the evidence outlined above, the Caeretan Iron Age settlement seems to have been rather "static and closed";²⁸ however, despite the "static and closed" nature of the grave goods, it is obvious that Caere traded with the neighbouring settlements of Tolfa and Allumiere for metal.²⁹ This is highly probable as the Caeretans had to obtain the metal resources for the production of their limited bronze goods from this area. It also must be noted that the Iron Age settlement was flourishing as a centre due to its relative size which is indicated by the two Iron Age cemeteries situated on its margins. Therefore, with the extensive material and decorative homogeneity among the grave goods, it seems likely that there were some local workshops which would explain the homogeneity of the grave goods. According to Pohl: "There were probably a number of workshops both for pottery and other items that supplied the Caeretan population."³⁰

The 7th century B.C. marks the appearance of the monumental Regolini-Galassi tomb on the Sorbo which indicates that Caere begins to gain greater status as an urban centre. The tomb is important for its structure and furnishings which become the characteristic features of the burials on the later

²⁷ Ibid., 294.

²⁸ Ibid., 293.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Pohl, 294.

sites of Banditaccia and Monte Abatone. The Regolini-Galassi tomb was constructed in the form of a tumulus (a tomb structure covered by a mound of earth) with a dromos, niches and tomb chamber. This tomb was originally "intended for a single burial but at a later period five other tombs were added to the periphery."³¹ There was one female inhumation burial located in the inner chamber (ca. 650 B.C.), one male cremation located in the right-hand niche (ca. 650 B.C.), and one male inhumation burial located in the antechamber/converted dromos (ca. 625 BC).³² [see fig. I]

At this point it is necessary to review of some of the goods found in the Regolini-Galassi tomb. The first burial group to be examined will be that of the female. The female's grave goods, abundant with gold and silver, provide direct evidence for an increase in the lavishness of goods.

- 1) Gold fibula (Pareti, No. 1) 31.5 cm. Disc bordered by two chains of palmettes; its centre carries five pacing lions; figures are worked in repousse with the details picked out in granulation; the bow shows alternating bands of repousse lions and ducks.
[see fig II]

- 2) Gold pectoral (Pareti, No. 28) H. 42 cm; W. 38.1 cm. Combination of Villanovan and Orientalizing motifs are

³¹ E. Richardson, The Etruscans (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1964), 51.

³² For the derivation of the absolute chronology of the various burials see, Ingrid Strom, Problems Concerning the Origin and Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style (Odense: Odense University Press, 1971), 170-71.

present. The zigzags and beading are those motifs native to the Villanovans, while the presence of palmettes, sphinxes, lions, winged goddesses are those motifs which are indicative of the new Orientalizing style.

- 3) Silver oenochoe (Pareti, No. 165) H. 21 cm; Max circ. 38 cm. Characteristically Phoenician in form³³ in terms of the conical neck with a trefoil mouth and a lower wide body. Palmette termination of the handle.
- 4) Phoenician silver table service inscribed with the name of the deceased (?). (Larthia). (Pareti, No.s 152-164)

The second group is that of the male cremation burial located in the right-hand niche. Although there are fewer tomb furnishings, it nevertheless provides a good sample of luxury items:

- 1) Ash urn (Pareti No. 232) H. 65.5 cm; impasto, ribbed wall with an ovoidal body and domed lid surmounted by a horse(?).
- 2) Remains of a chariot (Pareti, No. 227).
- 3) More than a dozen Greek cups: ten of which are Protocorinthian skyphoi. (Pareti No.s 369-379)
- 4) 35 small "mourning" bucchero figures (Pareti, No. 233). H. approx. 10 cm. Geometric male and female representations. Pareti denotes that styles in both the treatment of the hair and costume are particular to the 7th century BC: "capelli lunghi, a cioche sulla testa riuniti a coda dietro la nuca; intrecciati con una specie di cordone fina alla parte

³³ Ibid., 128.

inferiore del corpo; tunica a scapolare, con una cintura a finachi; vesti decorate, o nel tessuto, o con ricami, o con applicazioni geometricamente."³⁴

[see fig. III]

The third group is that of the male inhumation burial found in the dromos/antechamber of the tomb which consists of the following goods indicating with high probability that the male was a warrior:

- 1) Bronze bed upon which the body was placed (Pareti, No. 236). L. 1.87 m; H. 36 cm.
- 2) Funeral cart(?) (Pareti, No. 237)
- 3) Various bronze shields (Pareti, No.s 243-250). For the most part the remains of these shields are fragmental in form. They were nailed to the wall of the dromos. Some shields were decorated with only Villanovan motifs (ie., geometric patterns); others were decorated with the rosette, palmette, and lion motifs characteristic of the Orientalizing style. [see fig. IV]
- 4) Various weapons (Pareti, No.s 255-280): an iron sword and 10 bronze javelins.
- 5) 2 bronze cauldrons with lion protomes (Pareti, No.s 307-308). Ave. max. circ. 1.75 m; Protomes: H. 22 cm. Possibly of Urartian origin(?)³⁵ [see fig. V]
- 6) Silver gilt Phoenician table service (Pareti, No.s 321-324). Silver cups and bowls decorated with incised motifs; subject matter: scenes of war (horses, chariots, soldiers, lions).
- 7) Villanovan amphora (Pareti, No. 325). H. 33 cm.

³⁴ Pareti, 273.

³⁵ See K. R. Maxwell Hyslop, "Urartian Bronzes in Etruscan Tombs," *Iraq*, Vols. 17-18 (1955-56), 150-167.

Bronze. The archaic technique of repousse bosses and beading is shown here and Pareti believes it to be of Tarquinian origin.³⁶ [see fig. VI]

- 8) Terracotta cauldron (Pareti, No. 326). H. (?).
Rose/grey terracotta; double-handled; supported by three feet; painted frieze. The iconography consists of the following moving left to right: a lion; followed by a sphinx; another lion; then a centaur which has beaten a deer to death with its club; another lion; a chimaera; a wild boar, and finally another lion.³⁷
- 9) Small bucchero flask with inscribed characters of the Etruscan language (Pareti, No. 327) H. 16.4 cm.

The tomb structure, the number of individuals, and the grave goods which were found inside are different than what had been commonly found on the Sorbo cemetery. The monumentality of the tomb structure, the repeated use of the tomb over a twenty-five year period, and the wealth of the grave goods indicate that the deceased belonged to the aristocratic hierarchy.

Burial practice, which had already shifted from cremation to inhumation in the eighth century BC, no longer included individual graves; instead a number of chamber tombs were hollowed out with large funerary mounds or tumuli, reflecting the change from tribal to aristocratic family groups. These truly princely tombs contained huge treasures, the status symbols of this newly

³⁶ Pareti, 321.

³⁷ Ibid., 320.

developed aristocracy.³⁸

The grave goods from the Regolini-Galassi tomb, therefore, provide a vast number of luxury items from different cultural sources (i.e., Greek, Phoenician and Etruscan) which also reflect the relative wealth of the owners. Richardson best summarizes the various styles characteristic of the tomb furnishings by stating that: "This tomb represents a jumble of old Villanovan tastes and practices, contemporary Greek refinements and superb adaptations of the new eastern style and motifs."³⁹

The evolution of tombs during the 7th century B.C. also coincides with the development of the city proper as is revealed by excavations within the urban environs of the modern city.⁴⁰ First, there is evidence that Caere was located at a crossroads. A network of roads are seen leading out of Caere to various locations (e.g., Veii, Lake Bracciano, Volsinii, Pyrgi, Alsium).⁴¹ Secondly Caere had, by the 7th century B.C., established a waterworks system which channelled water both to the city and to the rural areas, as Cristofani states:

il paesaggio collinare e roccioso, infatti favorisce

³⁸ Torelli, op. cit., Larissa Bonfante, ed., 52.

³⁹ Richardson, 53-54.

⁴⁰ See Cristofani, op. cit.

⁴¹ Ibid., 1.

l'escaviazione di 'ponti coperti' di sistemi di cunicoli che deviano i corsi d'acqua facilitando il cammino ed evitando il formarsi di acque stagnanti permettendo anche l'afflusso idrico nelle campagne.⁴²

Thirdly, there appears to be a tendency to place the new monumental tumuli at strategic positions:

Ma assieme ai tumuli monumentali orientalizzanti sono state rilevate molte necropoli arcaiche che si organizzano con certezza attorno a insediamenti minori...due di questi hanno funzioni certamente strategiche: Casteldannato, con muraglie a blocchi di tufo, che sembra posto a controllo dell'importante strade n. 6 in chi si incanalvano i traffici verso Veii e verso lago di Bracciano; quello sulla rupe del Monte Abatone, che controlla praticamente tutta la paralia da Alsium a Pyrgi.⁴³

It would be just to hypothesize here that this "strategic positioning" of the tumuli would indicate the prominence of the members of the particular family buried inside which, in turn indicates the prominence of the city itself.

This analysis of Caere reveals an evolution of social organization which took place over a period of more than three centuries. By no means does the city of Caere provide a completely lucid illustration of the period in question. Funerary evidence gives a biased viewpoint in a study which must be open to many other facets (e.g., domestic evidence). Also, it must be kept in mind that Caere can not be thought of

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

as paradigmatic of all urban centres in southern Etruria because of the characteristic regional factors inherent to this area, e.g., rich volcanic soils, tufa outcrops, proximity to the Tyrrhenian sea and to the mineral resources of the Tolfa mountains. Nevertheless, it does furnish a good example of the social, political and economic situation in southern Etruria up to the end of the seventh century B.C.

C. FOREIGN INFLUENCES

We must ask "What was the impetus for the new styles in tomb constructions and grave goods?" and "why did Caere (and other centres in southern Etruria) experience an economic, political and social boom around the 7th century B.C.?" Both questions can be answered by examining the Mediterranean trade network which was making its presence felt in the western Mediterranean prior to the 7th century B.C. "In studying ancient 'commerce'," as Cristofani states, "there are three salient factors to be taken into account: the way goods circulate, and hence the area within which they circulate; the way their value is determined; and the actual form that trading takes."⁴⁴

The Phoenicians and the Greeks, the two dominant forces in the Mediterranean, were busy establishing positions for trade near Italy as early as the 9th century B.C. [see map 1] The Phoenicians appear to have had a slight edge over the Greeks, as is witnessed by their early settlement of Nora in

⁴⁴ Ibid., 62.

Sardinia, and Carthage in North Africa in the 9th century BC. By the 8th century BC, Greek settlements begin to make their appearance in southern Italy, Cyme, Posidonia, Neapolis, etc. Most notable for its proximity to Etruria is the Euboean settlement of Pithekoussai (founded ca. 775 B.C.) on the island of Ischia lying just north of the Bay of Naples. Pithekoussai imported goods on a large scale from a wide variety of regions (i.e., Syria/Cilicia, Phoenicia, Greece, southern Etruria and Apulia) and acted as an important emporium in the Tyrrhenian Sea.⁴⁵ Both the Phoenicians and the Greeks had also established themselves on the island of Sicily: the most noteworthy settlements were Phoenician Motya and Greek Syracuse.

The Phoenician and Greek expansion into the western Mediterranean took place for several reasons. The onset of Phoenician contact west begun around the 11th century B.C.,⁴⁶ was a result of the need for mineral resources. The Phoenicians already renowned for their prowess in metalwork, by the 11th century B.C., ran into trouble when mineral resources such as silver, gold, copper, and tin mined essentially in Nubia and Asia Minor began to run out. "...[S]o when supplies were known to be made available, Phoenician

⁴⁵ A. J. Graham, "The Colonial Expansion of Greece," in The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. III, Pt. 3 (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 99-100.

⁴⁶ F.W. von Bissing, "Karthago und seine Griechischen und Italischen Beziehungen" Studi Etruschi Vol. VII (1933), 83-135.

mariners were encouraged to seek them;"⁴⁷ therefore, "by the eighth century B.C. they were prospecting from colonies scattered over the western Mediterranean and establishing trade relations with the metal producers and suppliers of Etruria and Latium"⁴⁸. The Greeks, too, were also seeking trade relations with Etruria for the purpose of exploiting natural resources. Greek trading posts which were initially established in southern Italy, had, by the eighth century B.C., become colonies: "fully organized and institutionalized units set up from over-populated city-states of Greece to form regular expatriate city-states on their own account, engaging in trade and possessing tracts of agricultural land."⁴⁹

The goal of western Mediterranean colonization in the 8th century B.C. was not only to seek possible trade markets, but also to seek new sites of habitation as a result of the political upheavals occurring in both Phoenicia and Greece. For instance, Phoenicia was plagued by Assyrian expansion under Tiglath Pileser III who attacked the Urartian empire,

⁴⁷ Donald Harden, The Phoenicians (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), 62-63.

⁴⁸ Jean MacIntosh Turfa, "International Contacts: Commerce, Trade and Foreign Affairs," in Etruscan Life and Afterlife, Larissa Bonfante ed. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986), 66. For Phoenician relations in Sardinia see, Enrico Acquaro, "Phoenicians and Etruscans," in The Phoenicians, Sabatino Moscati, ed. (Milano: Gruppo Editoriale Fabbri Bompiani, 1988), 532-537.

⁴⁹ M. Grant, The Etruscans (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980.), 46.

which included part of N. Syria in 742 B.C.⁵⁰ Also, political difficulties, i.e. the Lelantine War, on the island of Euboea prompted its inhabitants to set up trading posts at Phoenician Al Mina and north Syrian Ras el Bassit. The Euboean merchants then came into contact with Eastern merchants who informed the Euboeans of Phoenician trade routes west to Italy, Sicily, and even Spain.⁵¹ With this in mind it is safe to surmise that, "some of the luxurious items belonging to higher classes [ie., of the Etruscans] are the result of trading activity based on Etruscan mineral wealth."⁵²

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the coastal cities of southern Etruria benefitted the most from Phoenician and Greek expansion and trade. Topographically, southern Etruria would obviously dominate in terms of prosperity due to its proximity to the Tyrrhenian sea and to rich ore-producing hills, forests, and agricultural land. Also, it must be kept in mind that foreign contact would also enhance the idea of social hierarchy as "access to this exchange network was restricted to a 'chiefly' elite".⁵³ But also, foreign contact not only enhanced southern Etruria in terms of economic prosperity, but also left a strong impression on its

⁵⁰ K. R. Maxwell - Hyslop, "Urartian Bronzes in Etruscan Tombs" in Iraq, Vol. 17-18 (1955-56), 156. Georges Roux, Ancient Iraq (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1980), 286.

⁵¹ Turfa, 69.

⁵² Torelli, 51.

⁵³ Spivey and Stoddart, 83.

culture which is especially manifest in the arts.

II. BACKGROUND INFORMATION REGARDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHIUSI

A. TOPOGRAPHY

Chiusi⁵⁴ [see maps 6 & 7], located in central Etruria, is incorporated both into the south-east province of Siena and a small portion of the province of Perugia. Situated on prime agricultural land,⁵⁵ Chiusi's territory encompasses the area from the Val di Chiana to the north, including the communication lines between the hinterland of southern Etruria and the north.⁵⁶ Its natural boundaries consist of the following: Lake Trasimene to the northeast; the Val di Chiana to the north; "Crete", the arid zone which extends to the Arbia river to the north-west; Monte Amiata to the south-west; the Paglia River to the south; and, the Chiana River, an affluent of the Tiber, to the east.⁵⁷

The city of Chiusi [see map 8], situated high upon a volcanic promontory, overlooks a rich fertile valley through which the now vanished Chiana (Clanis River) once flowed. The ancient remains of the city are few, however some evidence of

⁵⁴ Chiusi (modern) is also identified as Camars (Etruscan) and Clusium (Latin). See Massimo Pallotino, The Etruscans (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1955), 92, 118.

⁵⁵ Botanical evidence from Monte Cetona and environs show that agricultural products consisted of emmer (*triticum dicoccum*), barley, millet and pulses. Cristofani, 51.

⁵⁶ Coarelli, 54.

⁵⁷ R. Bianchi Bandinelli, "Clusium - Ricerche archeologiche e topografiche su Chiusi e il suo territorio i eta etrusca," Monumenti Antichi, XXX, (1925), 210-211.

Etruscan walls is extant.⁵⁸

B. ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STATUS UP UNTIL THE 7TH CENTURY B.C.

An interesting feature of the territory of Chiusi is the numerous settlements which were scattered over the area. Prior to ca. 900 B.C., the population of this region was concentrated on Monte Cetona, where "the plateau of Belverde has revealed a proper fortified village of huts and caves whose inhabitants built a system of artificial terraces as a base for their dwellings."⁵⁹ After ca. 900 B.C., a shift in the population was apparent with the dispersion of many upland settlements. New agricultural settlements were evident on the southern slopes of Monte Cetona at Cancelli and S. Casciano di Bagni; on the northern slopes towards Sarteano; and beyond the Astrone river at Chianciano and Chiusi.⁶⁰

Of these scattered settlements, the ancient centre of Chiusi appears to be the largest but was nearly matched in size by some of its contemporary neighbouring centres (Sarteano, Castelluccio, Montepulciano, etc.).⁶¹ Unfortunately, evidence to date is scant which would provide a concise economic, political, and social history of Chiusi and its environs. The evidence available, i.e., burials and

⁵⁸ Grant cites the circumference of the walls as comprising an area of only 64 acres (259 m²). Grant, 31.

⁵⁹ Coarelli, 51.

⁶⁰ Cristofani, 15-16.

⁶¹ Spivey and Stoddart, 50.

grave goods, does, however, reveal that from the 10th to 7th centuries B.C., Chiusi and its environs adhered to Villanovan traditions.⁶²

The Villanovan population of the territory of Chiusi is attested to primarily by the necropoleis of Poggio Renzo (north of Chiusi), Fornace, and Fonte all'Aia (respectively, west and south-west of Chiusi). The Villanovan burials are consistent throughout the region. Pozza tombs, pits containing a cinerary urn with a few grave goods, are the principal form of burial. As Bianchi Bandinelli states: "La struttura dei pozzetti e le suppellettili non variano, in linea generale, dall'una all'altra di queste diverse località, e oscillano nell'ambito delle solite caratteristiche di sepolcri simili delle regioni maremmane e emiliane."⁶³

The fabric of the cinerary urns ranges from a heavy dark grey/black clay to those possessing traces of brown clay. The form of the urns is biconical, characteristically consisting of two parts: "the body, an inverted cone of rather squat proportions, topped by an upright cone which forms a high and broad neck. On one side, somewhat below the middle where neck and body meet, and the outline bulges most, each vase has a horizontal handle."⁶⁴ Decorations include geometric designs

⁶² Pallotino, 118; Torelli, Storia degli Etruschi, 189.

⁶³ Bianchi Bandinelli, 440.

⁶⁴ Otto Brendel, Etruscan Art (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1978), 24.

accompanied with impressed decorations which are stamped upon the clay.⁶⁵ On the whole, the tomb furnishings are poor, although some pozza tombs contain bronze chains and fibula.⁶⁶ The Villanovan burials in the territory of Chiusi are comparable to the ones already seen in southern Etruria, however, they do differ in terms of the amount of bronzes present. The Chiusian burials contain an absence of bronzes as compared to those of the coastal habitations in southern Etruria,⁶⁷ especially Caere.

The appearance of the ziro tomb in the 7th century B.C. reveals a change in Chiusian burial practices. The ziro, a large unglazed terracotta jar, was placed into the conventional pit. In the early stages of the ziro, a typical biconical urn could be found inside of the jar, while tomb furnishings were placed on the outside. A stylistic modification of the biconical urn is apparent in the later ziro tomb with the use of anthropomorphic representation. Banti states: "In later tombs the urns are of all kinds of shapes and materials: bronze with a ribbon or a cast handle; impasto, with small mobile figures and a large human figure on the lid; ovoid with a human mask in hammered bronze tied to the urn [, and t]he characteristic canopic jars...with an

⁶⁵ Ibid., 441.

⁶⁶ See description of grave goods in pozza tombs at Poggio Renzo. Bianchi Bandinelli. 291-92.

⁶⁷ Mario Torelli, Etruria (Roma-Bari: Laterza & Figli, 1982), 308.

ovoid body and a cover in the shape of a human head."⁶⁸

Later still, the grave goods which are more numerous and lavish, are often found in a small mass outside of the pithos in a special cell "lasciata vuota al disopra della lastra di chiusura dell'orcio, e protetta da un'altra lastra."⁶⁹ One example of a ziro tomb located at Poggio Renzo⁷⁰, illustrates the lavishness and quantity of the tomb furnishings that these later burials contained.

N. 115: ziro tomb found in a pit 3 m deep and covered by a horizontal slab roughly square in shape. It contained:

- a) canopic urn in red clay (ht. 0.52 m) sitting on a throne made from the same clay, facing the north.
- b) spherical olla with two handles and a small tetralobatial neck; handmade with very thin, regular walls; brown clay. Decorated with thin fastened sheets of lead. The belly has tooth-like decorations. Corresponding with the handles are two painted meanders. This vase presented evidence of traces of fabric which was used to enshroud the grave goods.
- c) pyxis in the shape of a tureen (diam. 0.2 m); handles painted red; contains bones of a hare.
- d) 2 melon shaped vases with feet and two handles; red striped decoration.
- e) 3 conical cups with feet; red clay; crude red decoration.

⁶⁸ Banti, 163-164.

⁶⁹ Bianchi Bandinelli, 445.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 294-95.

- f) 3 identical situla (ht. 0.15-0.13 m)
- g) two small craters (ht. 0.08 m)
- h) two jugs with handles (ht. 0.08 m)
- i) IDEM, a bit larger with traces of fabric presented in "b".
- j) wheelmade kylix, yellow clay, decorated with red stripes.
- k) two bronze cups (diam 0.12 m); one of which contained traces of wine.
- l) semispherical bronze situla with relief at the base. (diam. 0.18 m)
- m) iron blade broken into two pieces; (length 0.26 m); there was a wooden handle of a dagger found beneath the chair of the canopic urn.
- n) iron blade (length, 0.20 m) found together fragments of iron (fibula?) at the base of the ziro.

Both the repertoire of grave goods and the appearance of the ziro tomb itself in the 7th century B.C. reveal that the Chiusians value accumulating wealth. The increased use of metal products and the diversity of pottery forms illustrate both/either increased trade and/or increased specialization and division of labour. Also, the presence of isolated ziro tombs in areas where pozza tombs [see map 9] were absent (Marcianella, Vigna Grande, Pozzerelli, etc.) indicates expansion by Chiusi probably in order to establish new agricultural settlements.

C. TRADE CONTACTS

The presence of a diverse repertoire of stylistic elements in the grave goods from ca. 7th century B.C. onwards

indicates that there was trade contact with other areas of Etruria, namely southern Etruria. It has already been established that southern Etruria was, by the 7th century B.C., prospering economically, politically, and socially. With a growing population which coincided with the need for more natural material resources, the inhabitants of southern Etruria travelled to other areas of Etruria in order to find these resources (ie., metals⁷¹ as well as agricultural products) which were necessary for satisfying their increasing demand for material goods and subsistence.

Chiusi's prominence, ca. the 7th century B.C., was due to its position as a crossroads for various trade routes. Goods imported from the south may have been moved via a route which travelled north-east from Vulci, heading along the course of the Fiora river and passed north of Lake Bolsena. Then, in order to reach Chiusi, the route crossed the Paglia River at Aquapendente, progressing to Chiusi by passing through either Cortona or Sarteano.⁷² Goods, particularly from Caere and Tarquinia would have also been transported via this route.⁷³ In addition, Chiusi was connected to the rich

⁷¹ eg. metalliferous minerals and metals such as iron, predominately from the Monte Amiata area. A. Sestini, "Introduzione all'Etruria mineraria: il quadro naturale e ambientale," in L'Etruria Mineraria (Atti del XII Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici. Firenze, Populonia, Piombino, 16-20 giugno 1979) (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1981.) 3-21.

⁷² Banti, 162.

⁷³ Ibid.

ore-producing Maremma region (centres include: Vetulonia, Populonia and Rosellae) via a route which travelled to Castelluccio di Pienza and the pass of the Foce.⁷⁴

Water routes were also a means for transporting goods to Chiusi. The Tiber with its many affluents was navigable as far north as Arezzo, as Pliny the Elder states in his Naturalis Historia, Book III.53,

...sed infra Arretinum Glanim duobus et quadraginta fluviis auctus, praecipuis autem Nare et Aniene, qui et ipse navigabilis Latium includit a tergo...⁷⁵

Although southern Etruria played a dominant role in terms of contact with the Chiusians, other minor sources (e.g. those of the Maremma region and those areas bordering the Adriatic) should not be forgotten when analyzing imported goods or stylistic influences on Chiusi's own artistic production. Chiusi's artistic production was one which could truly be called "Etruscan" in nature, that is a production which adhered primarily to local Villanovan traditions. In other words, Chiusi's artisans would have been limited to stylistic characteristics indigenous to the area rather than succumbing entirely to foreign influences (i.e., Orientalizing) which were sweeping over southern Etruria already in the early 7th century B.C.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Pliny, Natural History, Bk. 3.53. Trans. H. Rackham. Harvard UP, 1938.

III. A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE CAERETAN ORIENTALIZING STYLE AS SEEN IN THE CASTELLANI STATUETTES

As a result of increased foreign contact in the 7th century B.C., southern Etruria benefitted economically from Phoenician as well as Greek expansion and trade. Foreign contact, however, has more than simply economic implications. Rathje states: "It must be remembered that trade, as an agent of communication and hence in establishing areas of cultural and material exchange, had a cultural significance which long preceded its economic one."⁷⁶ At this juncture, it is necessary to discuss how southern Etruria, with particular emphasis on Caere, developed in terms of its artistic production in light of increased trade in the 7th century B.C. In order to do so, a basis must be formulated to describe the infusion of foreign elements into the existing Caeretan art forms. Therefore, a definition of the term "Orientalizing" will be provided in order to establish how the Caeretans took foreign objects, adapted them to suit their own needs and, by doing so, developed an art form distinct to their own city.

Chronologically, Strom says that, "the origin and early development of the Etruscan Orientalizing style can be restricted to the artistic position of Southern Etruria from the late eighth to about the middle of the seventh

⁷⁶ Annette Rathje. "Oriental Imports in Etruria in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.: Their Origins and their Implications," in Italy Before the Romans, D. and F. R. Ridgway, eds. (London: Academic Press, 1979), 145.

century."⁷⁷ Torelli states that the Orientalizing style in Etruria, "acquired an even more luxuriant character [than that of the Greeks], in accord with the provincial marginal character of the area, but this style expressed the love of luxury, the boldness, and the enterprising spirit of the Etruscan aristocracy."⁷⁸ The brief overview of the various objects found in the Regolini-Galassi tomb has substantiated for these two descriptions of the Orientalizing style. The tomb furnishings indicate that the style itself is primarily comprised of a mixture of both foreign and indigenous elements. For example, the Greek and Levantine motifs,⁷⁹ consist of interlacing patterns, rays, rosettes, palmettes, flowers, and volutes: as well as anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figured scenes. On the other hand, the existing Etruscan motifs consist of those geometric representations (supra p. 10) on the Villanovan artifacts which were found at Sorbo. What is apparent therefore, as was seen at the Regolini Galassi tomb at Caere (supra pp., 12-16) is the Etruscans' ability to create an "Orientalizing style" of their very own, and they did this by assimilating the foreign styles into their own indigenous art forms. Furthermore, each Etruscan centre had its own mediums in which these new stylistic influences were expressed (e.g., Vetulonia and Vulci for their

⁷⁷ Strom, 201.

⁷⁸ Torelli, 52.

⁷⁹ Torelli, L'arte degli Etruschi, 28.

use of bronze; Tarquinia for its use of stone and Veii for its use of clay), which clearly reinforces, artistically the topographic and geographic differences between the various cities of southern Etruria.

With the onset of the 7th century B.C., as was evident from the Regolini-Galassi tomb, Caeretan artisans concentrated on the production of small-scale art forms (e.g., jewellery, pottery, and bronze weapons). An evolution takes place towards the end of the 7th century B.C. in terms of anthropomorphic representation. The artisans began to sculpt large-scale figures in the round. In order to better understand this process, it is necessary to isolate an example of Caeretan art dating to the 7th century B.C., to envisage how the artisans continued to utilize foreign motifs in their own art forms. To do so, I first need to analyze stylistically Caeretan sculpture in the round: the emphasis will be placed on the Castellani Statuettes. Then with this analysis firmly in mind, I will attempt to deduce the stylistic impetus for these particular works.

The five terracotta Castellani Statuettes [see fig. VII] were found sitting on chairs carved from tufa⁸⁰ which were

⁸⁰ Other such seated figures are found near Caere; See Giovanni Colonna and Friedrich von Hase, "Alle origini della statuaria etrusca: la tomba delle statue presso Ceri," Studi Etruschi, Vol. 52 (1984), 13-61. It is also interesting to note that the portrayal of the "aristocratic figure" is not limited to burials alone. Regarding the acroteria on the palazzi at Murlo, Torelli states: "Del pari, le figure acroterali di personaggi assisi rievocano la stessa sfera familiare: esse erano infatti munite di attributi ora

discovered in the Tomba delle Cinque Sedie in Caere in 1863.⁸¹ Three of the statues are extant today: two females (British Museum, London) and one male (Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome). The three hand-modelled figures, dressed in tunics, are similar in height (ranging approximately from 48 cm - 54.5 cm). Some of the statuettes had been broken: not all the pieces were found.⁸² The statuettes were found in a small room to the left of the dromos, [see fig. VIII] which contained furniture cut out of the tufa: two tables, five rectangular high-backed chairs upon which the terracotta statuettes were seated, two "thrones" with curved backs, and one small altar.⁸³

The figures are similar to each other in form, i.e., a block-like shape, lack of proportion, and frontal pose.

scomparsi (litui, lance, bipenni, scettri)...anche, questi forse simboli del potere,...non diversamente dalle statue scavate nel tufo di una nota tomba di Ceri, dalle statuette su troni della tomba ceretana delle "Cinque sedie", degli stessi canopi e dell statue-cinerario di Chiusi." Mario Torelli, Case e Palazzi D'Etruria (Milano: Electa Editrice, 1985), 29.

⁸¹ Sybille Haynes, Etruscan Sculpture (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1971), 11.

⁸² Male figure, inv. 62, Musei Capitolini, H. 48 cm. Small fragments have been reconstructed: adhesion of the nose to the face; part of the right cheek; a fragment of the hair; all of the neck; part of the back and right side. A finger is missing on the right hand.

Two female figures: D.219, D. 220; British Museum, H. 54.5 cm. Reconstruction of the neck and the back of the head is apparent on both figures.

⁸³ M. Albertoni, Prima Italia (Rome: De Luca Editore, 1981), 94.

Their faces are oval and they have wide-set almond shaped eyes; protruding foreheads which are a result of the hair being pulled back tightly, prominent noses, and full lips. These figures with their exaggerated features, i.e., oversized foreheads, distended eyes, do not represent portraits of individuals buried inside the tomb but simply idealized symbols of the dead.⁸⁴

The three figures also wear similar clothing; a short-sleeved checkered tunic with a wide border over which is an obliquely cut mantle fastened at the shoulder with a comb fibula. The comb fibula, which was in fashion during the 7th century B.C., "must have served as jewellery rather than functional pins and were made for funeral use rather than every day use."⁸⁵ Interestingly, these chequered style dresses appear on "terracotta figurines decorating funerary urns from the region of Chiusi".⁸⁶

Originally, the terracotta clay was chamois-coloured (with a few impurities) and had been painted before firing.⁸⁷ The armbands of the tunics and the mantles are painted in a red pigment which is darker than the other vestments, and the hair (evident on the male statue) is painted in a reddish-brown tone. The face, arms hands and feet retain a rose

⁸⁴ Haynes, 12.

⁸⁵ Strom, 100-101.

⁸⁶ Haynes, 11.

⁸⁷ Albertoni, 94.

coloured finish.

The figures are portrayed with their right hand thrusting forward and the palm stretched out facing upwards, either indicating that the hand held an object, or that the hand may simply be expressing a gesture. The left hand simply rests upon the lap.

There are, however, certain aspects which make them distinct from one another. First, the female figures wear cylindrical earrings, which are very similar in form to examples found in other areas of southern Etruria.⁸⁸ Second, even though all three statuettes have their hair pulled back in order to reveal their protruding foreheads, the female figures wear their hair in a different fashion than the male figure. Older photographs⁸⁹ [see fig. IX] show the females with their hair pulled back tightly into a chignon. However, these tufts of hair were removed when the figures were cleaned and restored in 1954.⁹⁰ On the other hand, the male figure's hair, pulled back and drawn behind the ears, hangs straight down to the nape of the neck.

The stylistic impetus, especially in the anthropomorphic aspect of the Orientalizing style seen in these figures, may be traced to small-scale Caeretan forms already in production

⁸⁸ Haynes, 11.

⁸⁹ See G. Q. Giglioli, "Le tre statuine fittili del VII sec. a. C. trovate a Caere" in Studi Etruschi, Vol. 22 (1952-53), 319-329.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

during the seventh century B.C. Caeretan objects dating from the early 7th century B.C. which illustrate this derivation for the rendition of the face and head of the Castellani Statuettes include:

- 1) Bolt Fibula. Gold; London, The British Museum; Br. Mus. Cat. Jew., No. 1371; Caere. Found in the same tomb as the Castellani statuettes, the bolt fibula represents a 4x4 row of seated sphinxes. Note the large round heads, hair pulled back and broad pointed nose. Strom assigns a date to within the second quarter of the 7th century B.C.⁹¹ [see fig. Xa]
- 2) Bucchero Figurines. Regolini-Galassi Tomb. For description Cf. p. 17, above. [see fig. III]
- 3) Ivory Sphinx (lid) and Pyxis. Baltimore Maryland, Walters Art Gallery, 71.489. Originally found at the Sorbo Cemetery, near the entrance to the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, Caere. Early 7th century B.C. Sphinx: H. 4.5 cm; Round oversized head in relation to the proportions of the rest of the body, broad pointed nose, oblong eyes. Hair pulled back at the forehead and drops down into Hathor locks. Note the facial representation of the two sphinxes and the female on the bottom iconographic band of the pyxis is similar to that of the lid of the sphinx. [see fig. Xb]

The examples cited above provide a possible stylistic origin of the face and head of the Castellani figures. For the most part, prior to the Castellani statuettes, any sort of

⁹¹ Strom, 99, 175.

anthropomorphic representation appears to have been relegated to sphinx-like creatures and small-scale, geometric-like human figures. Like the Castellani statuettes, all of these figures were portrayed with the accepted "characteristic" Orientalizing features,⁹² i.e., large oval head, broad pointed nose, oblong eyes. These particular examples, as well as others from the Regolini-Galassi tomb, reveal the Caeretans' ability to assimilate new anthropomorphic motifs into their existing repertoire of media (e.g., clay and metals). The combination of these anthropomorphic characteristics, e.g., large oval head, pulled-back hair, broad pointed nose, oblong eyes, is a style which can be called the "Caeretan Orientalizing" motif. The Castellani Statuettes illustrate the use of this particular "Orientalizing" style in larger-scale sculpture in the round. This larger-scale sculpture retained the characteristic anthropomorphic "Orientalizing" style e.g., large oval head, pulled-back hair, broad pointed nose, oblong eyes, yet at the same time added features which made it a uniquely Caeretan art form, e.g., the lack of proportion, the full-figured depiction and the caricature-like portraiture which were all employed on a terracotta medium.

The Caeretans, therefore, were able to develop their own art forms primarily because their artisans were already secure in their small-scale artistic production of utilitarian

⁹² Brendel, 93.

pottery, urns and fibula in the Villanovan period. Therefore, they were able to experiment with new motifs brought in by the Phoenicians and the Greeks. As a result, the use of floral, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic renditions were integrated into the existing indigenous forms and geometric patterns.

IV. A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF CHIUSIAN CANOPIC URNS FROM THE 7TH-6TH CENTURIES B.C.

With the development of Chiusi's economic, political and social status by the 7th century B.C., (supra, pp. 25-30) a marked change was evident in Chiusian burial goods with the appearance of the ziro tomb. Although the method of burial remained unchanged, i.e., cremation with the ashes of the dead placed in an urn, a change is apparent with the modification of the traditional Villanovan biconical urn. The new version of the urn, called the Canopic urn, is an art form unique to Chiusi. The Canopic urn is unique because its two main component parts, the lid and the ovoid container, represent the human form. The lid is modelled after a human head and the ovoid container with/without handles⁹³ represents the human body. Sometimes, the urn is even seated upon a throne.⁹⁴

Interestingly, the Chiusian Canopic urns are reminiscent of the Castellani statuettes from Caere (supra, Chapter V) with respect to the seated figure on a throne. More importantly, the urns are stylistically similar to the statuettes with the portrayal of the human head, e.g., the pulled back hair, the roundness of the face juxtaposed with the pointedness of the nose, ears, eyes and mouth.

⁹³ Some examples of Canopic urns have handles which represent human arms.

⁹⁴ For a detailed account of the thrones see, Ingrid Strom, "Orientalizing Bronze Reliefs from Chiusi", Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, XVII-XVIII (1989), 7-29.

The Chiusian Canopic urns, however, still retain features characteristic of the urns of the Villanovan era. Therefore what we see is Chiusi's artisans developing a style which was uniquely their own. They did not simply yield entirely to foreign influences, i.e., the Orientalizing motifs, which were sweeping over southern Etruria during the 8th century B.C.

In order to establish what features the artisans would retain for the Canopic urn, it is necessary to analyze the style of the Villanovan biconical urn which was used for burial in Chiusi from the 10th-7th centuries B.C. As we have already seen (supra, p.25), the Villanovan biconical urn consisted of two parts: "the body, an inverted cone of rather squat proportions, topped by an upright cone which forms a high and broad neck. On one side, somewhat below the middle where neck and body meet, and the outline bulges most, each vase has a horizontal handle."⁹⁵ The form of the Villanovan biconical urn is simple and has remained unchanged for over three centuries, as Torelli states: "il repertorio delle forme è assai limitato e semplice. Nella fase più antica il retaggio della tradizione dell'età del Bronzo finale è evidente...."⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Brendel, 24.

⁹⁶ Mario Torelli, L'arte degli Etruschi (Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza, 1985), 9.; Brendel, 24.

The Villanovan urns, generally fashioned out of clay,⁹⁷ are richly decorated with painted geometric motifs and/or impressed designs which were stamped upon the clay.⁹⁸ The following are the most common types of decoration:⁹⁹ meanders with triple lines; quadrilaterals with/without circles impressed on the corners; crisscrosses; scalene triangles with filler lines; step meanders; impressed concentric circles; and impressed crosses. These motifs are found primarily on the body of the vase and on the upper portion of the neck.

When the artisans modify the urn, "a tendency becomes noticeable to give greater emphasis [with decoration] to the upper part or shoulder of the body - the zone of the widest circumference."¹⁰⁰ The movement of the decoration from middle to top is a significant stylistic innovation. With the development of the Canopic urn it is evident that the artisans begin to focus their attention on decorating the lid: the body of the urn remains bare and the lid consists of a depiction of the human head.

By the 7th century B.C., in concordance with the appearance of the lavish ziro tombs (supra, pp. 26-27), the Villanovan urn gradually develops into what we know as the

⁹⁷ There is also evidence for bronze biconical urns at Chiusi, (supra, p. 26).

⁹⁸ Brendel, 24.

⁹⁹ Bianchi-Bandinelli, 441.

¹⁰⁰ Brendel, 25. For an example of this type see Bianchi-Bandinelli, fig. 29, p. 318.

Canopic urn. Now, instead of focusing on geometric motifs, the Chiusian artisans begin to pay particular attention to the human form. The Canopic urn of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. essentially retains the ovoid form of the body of its Villanovan predecessor. The Canopic urn's body lacks decoration, except for arms which are attached to the sides and used as handles and hands which are either moulded or carved onto the front of the belly. The head/lid, the main focus of attention for the artisan, illustrates certain parallels to the treatment of the head which we have already seen in Caeretan Castellani statuettes: e.g., the oval head, protruding forehead; almond-shaped eyes, long pointed nose and full mouth.

In order to show these similarities in the rendition of the face between the Chiusian Canopic urns and the Caeretan Castellani statuettes, I would like to focus on a few examples of Chiusian canopic urns dating between the beginning of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.

To date, any work on the typology of the Chiusian Canopic urns has been limited. One scholar, Robert D. Gempeler, bases his typology on the various handle shapes of the urns. According to Gempeler, there appear to be seven types of urns prevalent in Chiusi from the 7th - 5th centuries B.C.¹⁰¹ Therefore, in order to trace any stylistic similarities

¹⁰¹ For the various types of the Chiusian Canopic urn see R. D. Gempeler, Die Etruskischen Urnen, Bern: 1974.

between the urns of Chiusi and the statuettes from Caere I would like to concentrate on Gempeler's Type A₁ and A₂ which fall in between the middle of the 7th and the early 6th centuries B.C. The following information states the criteria for Gempeler's Type A₁ and A₂.¹⁰²

Type A₁ (ca. 640-585 B.C.)

Urns with sculpted arms. On these particular urns, the arms are modelled on the surface of flattened shoulders and are raised up in high relief. The arms extend onto the vessel and then are shaped into hands carved in low relief.

Type A₂ (ca. 630-580 B.C.)

Urns with sculpted arms. On these particular urns, the arms are openly sculpted on the shoulder whereby they curve back at the belly of the urn so that the hands are applied directly onto the vessel. The hands are then carved in low relief.

I have chosen three examples¹⁰³ which are found within the context of Gempeler's Type A₁ and A₂ in order to illustrate specific facial characteristics. These three examples will be used to show similarities between the facial depictions of Chiusian Canopic urns and those of the Castellani Statuettes.

1. Florence, Mus. Arch. No. 72783 (Gempeler Kat. 27) [fig.XI]
Found: 0.5 km southeast of Chiusi

¹⁰² Ibid., 187

¹⁰³ Ibid., 39-43.

Description: [Type A₁]

Lid - H. 15 cm; neck diam. 10 cm; thick. 0.8 cm; bucchero impasto; fragments of red clay; Oval head; protruding forehead; hair rendered with deep vertical incisions; long hook-shaped ears; a heavy incised line outlines the wide set eyes which are carved in low relief; full, pointed nose; carved in low relief, straight broad lips define the mouth; heavy pointed chin.

Urn - H. 38.5 cm; max. diam. 29 cm; neck H. 6.5 cm, diam. 12.5 cm; thick. 0.8 cm; base diam. 12.5 cm; same material as lid; lid fits inside cylindrical neck; amphora with pronounced belly; handles stand upright from flattened shoulders of vessel; handles extend on to the vessel to create arms and hands which are carved directly on the vessel.

2. Florence, Mus. Arch. No. 79197 (Gempeler Kat. 29) [fig.XI]

Found: Montagna di Cetona. Necropolis di Cancelli

Description: [Type A₂]

Lid - H. 21.5 cm; neck H. 6.5 cm, diam. 13.5 cm; thick. 0.4 cm; Terracotta; orange-red clay; glazed with the same material; oval face; protruding forehead; hole at crown of head; hair rendered with incised vertical lines; volute-shaped ears; wide-set eyes are inlaid with bone; deep-set iris with drilled pupil; long, pointed nose; straight full lips carved in low relief; pointed chin.

Urn - H. 44.5 cm; neck H. 4.5 cm; diam. 9.5 cm; base diam. 10.5 cm; thick. 0.5 cm; same material as

lid; lid fits over cylindrical neck; ovoid vessel with curved belly; handles are modelled from the shoulders, extending down towards the front of the belly as arms; hands are carved in fluted relief.

3. Florence, Mus. Arch. No. 72782 (Gempeler Kat. 30)
[fig. XI]

Found: Castiglione del Lago

Description: [Type A₁]

Lid - H. 19 cm; neck diam. 12 cm; thick. 0.6 cm; Terracotta; brown clay with yellow/brown glaze; oval protruding head; no hair; funnel-shaped ears, pierced earlobes for earrings; concave, wide-set, almond-shaped eyes; broad nose with hole drilled through the middle of the bridge; straight lips carved in low relief; short, pointed chin.

Urn - H. 32.5 cm; max diam. 29.5 cm; neck H. 6 cm, diam. 12 cm; base diam. 10 cm; thick. 1 cm; same material as lid; lid rests on neck of urn; amphora with protruding belly; handles in the form of arms are fashioned from the sides of the belly and extend to front; hands carved in low relief; nipples are placed on the chest.

As the urns described above demonstrate, there appear to be a few discrepancies in composition and in technique. First, there are different types of clay used, e.g., impasto, orange-red clay, and brown clay. This can easily be attributed to the rich assortment of clay beds from the various water sources in the region (supra, p. 23). Second,

the way in which the lid is placed onto the neck also varies: it can either fit inside the neck (no. 1); fit over the neck (no. 2) or rest directly on the rim of the neck (no. 3). Third, on these particular examples, hair is rendered on the head by incisions directly onto the clay. The hair which is straight, like that of the male Castellani statuette (*supra*, p. 36), is pulled back from the forehead, drawn behind the ears and hangs down to the nape of the neck. There is, however, not any evidence of hair on example no. 3. Brendel believes that some urns had bald heads because they were covered by wigs with natural hair.¹⁰⁴ Despite these differences, e.g., clay composition, neck form, and hairstyle, all three urns are characterized by similar facial features, e.g., oval face, protruding forehead, almond-shaped eyes, prominent noses, and full lips.

It is important to note, once again, the following facial characteristics that are evident in both the Canopic urns and the Castellani statuettes: the faces are oval; the hair is incised on the head (with the exception of example no. 3); the eyes are almond-shaped; the noses are prominent; and the lips are full. The similarities in facial characteristics between the Chiusian Canopic urns and the Caeretan Castellani statuettes show that a particular style, i.e., the "Orientalizing" style, has been transmitted from one city to another, e.g., from Caere to Chiusi.

¹⁰⁴ Brendel, 109.

V. CONCLUSION

Although there are stylistic parallels, e.g., the rendition of the face, between the Chiusian Canopic urns and the Caeretan Castellani statuettes, it must be kept in mind that both the urns and the statuettes exhibit features which make them an art form unique to their respective cities. In other words, what we see in the Chiusian Canopic urns, as was evident in the Castellani statuettes from Caere, is the amalgamation of the new anthropomorphic Orientalizing style within the established local tradition. This indicates that the Chiusians in central Etruria did not succumb entirely to the foreign practices and influences which were sweeping across southern Etruria, e.g., Caere, between ca. the 8th - 6th centuries B.C.

It must be kept in mind that the Chiusians, by the 7th century B.C., retained burial methods which were characteristic of Villanovan times. Cremation therefore was the favoured method of burial in Chiusi and the ashes of the dead were housed in an urn. A change, however, is evident with the modification of the traditional Villanovan biconical urn. We can see, from the examples cited above (*supra*, pp. 43-45) that the Chiusian artisans by the 7th century B.C. retained the ovoid shape distinctive of the Villanovan biconical urn, but altered their emphasis to the execution of the lid and the portrayal of the human head. For example, in the rendition of the human head, we can see that the

anthropomorphic Orientalizing style, (as was the case at Caere) 'takes off' and influences the Chiusian's treatment of the urn.

Why is the particular rendition of the head on the Chiusian urns, e.g., protruding forehead, oval face juxtaposed with the pointedness of the nose, ears, eyes and mouth, similar to that of the Caeretan Castellani statuettes? Geography and trade contact provide the answer for the transmission of the anthropomorphic style from Caere to Chiusi.

It has already been established (*supra*, p. 21) that Caere prospered at the onset of 7th century B.C., because of its proximity to the Tyrrhenian sea. Caere's proximity to the sea promoted trade from both the Phoenicians and Greeks who sought raw materials from its rich ore-producing hills, forests, and agricultural land. Not only did foreign contact enhance Caere's position economically, but also made an impression culturally, as is manifest in the arts and the transformation of funerary practices.

By the 7th century B.C. cities in southern Etruria, e.g., Caere, had to meet the needs of a growing population and increased trade. Therefore, they established trade routes in order to find more natural resources such as metals and agricultural products which would satisfy their increasing demand for material goods and subsistence.

Chiusi and its environs, "isolated" geographically in

terms of contact prior to the 7th century B.C., gained prominence by the mid 7th century B.C. when Chiusi's position as a crossroads and its proximity to the Chiana River made trade with other areas possible and thereby gave the city "a role as a major centre of trade."¹⁰⁵ .

With such relations, the Chiusians exchanged not only material goods, but also a source of new ideas. Chiusi, because of its position in the interior of Etruria, and also its differences in resources, wealth and development, escaped the bombardment of foreign influences which would hit those people living in the coastal areas. In other words, foreigners, e.g., Greeks and Phoenicians, preferred to inhabit the coastal regions so that they would be given "the most immediate opportunities for trade".¹⁰⁶ Chiusi because of its hinterland position is therefore able to maintain a "conservative" tradition in its art forms rather than succumb entirely to foreign influences.

Contact with the peoples of the south and other areas did, however, bring about a source of new motifs for the Chiusians, especially "Orientalizing" anthropomorphic designs which were sweeping across the south. The Chiusians adapted these "Orientalizing" anthropomorphic motifs and concentrated on the portrayal of the human head by emphasizing the oval

¹⁰⁵ Strom, 23.

¹⁰⁶ John Boardman, The Greeks Overseas. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980, p. 162.

face and protruding forehead which was then juxtaposed with the pointedness of the eyes, nose and full lips.

The Chiusians however did not assimilate these designs in the same way as Caere. While Caere used the anthropomorphic designs on small-scale art forms (e.g., jewellery, pottery and bronze weapons) and later on large-scale sculpted figures in the round, e.g., the Castellani statuettes; Chiusi, limited the use of the designs to modify their traditional Villanovan urns. The Chiusians maintained the form of the traditional urn, yet they modified the lid which took on the portrayal of the human head with "Orientalizing" designs, e.g., the pulled back hair, the roundness of the face juxtaposed with the pointedness of the nose, ears, eyes and mouth. The artists adapted anthropomorphic "Orientalizing" style into an art form which was to be Chiusi's alone, i.e., the Canopic urn.

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